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Ministers' Meeting of Protest

AGAINST THE

Atrocities in the Philippines

ADDRESSES OF

Rev. E. Winchester Donald

Rev. B. F. Trueblood	Rev. Scott F. Hershey
Rev. Francis H. Rowley	Rev. A. A. Berle
Rev. Frank O. Hall	Rev. Charles Fleischer
Rev. Robert J. Johnson	Rev. Paul R. Frothingham

TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON

May 22d, 1902

BFG

MINISTERS' MEETING OF PROTEST

AGAINST THE

Atrocities in the Philippines.

A meeting to protest against the atrocities perpetrated by the American soldiers in the Philippines, which was addressed by clergymen of almost every denomination without respect to party or creed, was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the evening of Thursday, May 22d, 1902. The Rev. E. Winchester Donald occupied the chair.

It was intended that no formal resolutions should be prepared, but the secretary, the Rev. Reuben Kidner, had furnished the press a memorandum, setting forth the aims and objects desired, which read as follows:

Remember the demands of the President: (1) Searching exposure of the wrong doers; (2) No barbarities pardoned or permitted under our flag; (3) Ultimate self-government for the Filipinos, after the fashion of the really free nations; (4) Generous trade relations with Cuba.

The conscience of the country urges these demands in their fullest and strongest sense, and will tolerate no influences that tend to weaken or obscure them.

Contrast the degree of joy and gratitude in Cuba today with the despair and resentment in the Philippines, and learn the lesson of the contrast.

REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN
THE REV. E. WINCHESTER DONALD

Of Trinity Church (Episcopal)

Ladies and Gentlemen:—This is to be a strictly “temperance meeting.” It has not been called to condemn or denounce the government, but to give the government and the administration our encouragement and support. But encouragement and support in what? In its investigation of the charges of cruelty and torture publicly brought against American soldiers in the Philippine Islands. On the ninth of February last, the Secretary of War received at the hands of Governor Taft a report from Governor Gardner. This report contained serious charges against the humanity of officers and soldiers. Ten days after the reception of this report, Mr. Root forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief of our Army in the Philippines an order that the charges should be fully and impartially investigated, and the machinery of discipline set in order at once. This was followed by a series of telegrams and letters to the same effect. We are here tonight to encourage and support the Secretary of War in his enforcement of that order.

Very recently the President of the United States has, in the most unqualified and explicit terms, publicly expressed his determination to discover and to punish all cases of barbarity committed by our soldiers in the Philippine Islands. We are here to express our deep gratitude to the President for this letter, and to express to him our admiration and sympathy, and no less our confidence that he will carry out fearlessly the promise of that letter.

We who are to speak are Republicans and Democrats, Imperialists and Anti-Imperialists, hopelessly divided in our conception of what should be the future political policy of America towards the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. But we are solidly united in the contention that whatever policy may be adopted by our government in the enforcement of that policy, its methods of enforcement shall be humane, civilized and worthy of a great nation.

We, as ministers, do not claim that by virtue of our ordination, we have become statesmen, especially competent to guide and direct the government in its public policy, or in the adoption of measures for carrying that policy out; but, as the accredited and appointed teachers of religion and morals in the community, we feel it to be our duty to let this community and

the nation know, beyond all guesswork, that we present a united front against barbarity, cruelty, and atrocity committed by any man anywhere where the flag of the United States floats. Some of us, no doubt, would go still further: if any man, to achieve his purpose, finds it absolutely necessary to adopt the instruments of shame and dishonor, we affirm that he has no right to entertain or prosecute that purpose; and if any nation, which has come into possession of territory, even by fair and honorable means, finds it absolutely necessary for its retention to descend to barbarity and inhumanity, then we do not hesitate to declare, in the face of God and man, that that nation has no right to occupy or retain that territory.

Whether or not the United States, in its attempt to occupy and retain the Philippines, has found, or shall find, it necessary to turn its back upon the principles of justice and humanity which have hitherto guided the policy of this country, no man on this platform will declare. We are here, not in defence of a policy, or in opposition to a policy, of the government, but as ministers of religion to protest against the barbarities and cruelties which we are at last compelled to admit have accompanied the presence of our armies in the Philippines.

It will be said tomorrow, it has been said, that the story of outrages in the Philippines has been greatly exaggerated. For one, I hope to God that it has been exaggerated. I can easily imagine that the poor fellow who has been testifying before the Senate's Commission of Inquiry about dum-dum bullets, and revolting and indiscriminate licentiousness, is, perhaps, representative, in the untrustworthiness of his testimony, of much that has been said and written by soldiers and officers of the army. We may not doubt that in many cases men have "drawn long bows" to relieve the monotony of camp life, when writing letters to their friends at home, or that others who have returned to America have made statements in public or private which have a slender basis in fact. Let those who are disposed to waive aside all stories of cruelty make the most of these exaggerations; we shall be among the first to express our gratitude if it shall be found that the public has been misled. But, my friends, there is serious danger lest this cry of exaggeration, heard and urged on so many sides, may have the effect of dulling the public conscience and diverting public attention from authentic fact. Against this danger we are to be on our guard. It is no longer possible for us to deny that atrocities have been committed in the Philippines at which the whole nation

blushes and hides its head in shame. It is imperative that we should not allow a possible, or even probable, exaggeration to beguile us into cowardly silence.

Who has committed these atrocities? Civilization? You cannot indict, or convict or sentence civilization; but you can indict, convict, and punish individuals. These things were not done by civilization; they did not do themselves; they were done by persons. Who these persons are, we do not know today, but we are passionately anxious to find out. What will be done, what we are certain will be done, if the conscience of the people is awakened, is that the responsibility for these atrocities will be laid at the door, not of civilization or of war, but at the door of the persons who committed them. Civilization does not care for our condemnation, war does not greatly heed our censures; but persons do. Until responsibility is brought definitely to persons, and not impotently laid upon civilization or war, the stain of dishonor on the nation will not have been removed.

It will be said, it has already been said, that since the President of the United States, in the most explicit terms, has expressed his determination, as the head of the government, to discover and punish the authors of barbarities in the Philippines, it is unnecessary, even impertinent, to call a meeting like this, for the purpose of stimulating the President to do his duty. But we are not here to affirm that President Roosevelt will not do his duty, but, rather, to express our confidence that he will do his duty. We are not here to declare that the Secretary of War has not done, or will not do, his duty; on the contrary, we believe that he will do it. But you and I have a duty also: It is to assure the President and the Secretary of War, in terms that cannot be misunderstood, that the conscience and the conviction of the whole people of the United States are with them and around them and under them, when, engaged in prosecuting their investigations to ascertain impartially upon whose shoulders should rest the responsibility of having disgraced the American flag and Christian America.

By so much as the conscience of the nation shall find utterance, by just so much will the servants of the people be strengthened to do their duty impartially and in the fear of God; and if this meeting shall, in the least, strengthen the hands of the government in the task it has undertaken, it will not have been in vain.

We, who are to speak, have agreed upon no particular line

of utterance. We do not hold each other responsible for the sentiments each of us shall express. Each of us will stand by what he may be moved to say, and by nothing else.

REMARKS OF REV. BENJ. F. TRUEBLOOD,

Secretary American Peace Society.

What is the moral and political duty of the country—the people of the United States—in the face of the ghastly disclosures recently made in regard to our conduct in the Philippines?

The deeds themselves need no characterization. The blackness of darkness makes itself felt by all healthy persons, without the need of superlatives or rhetorical demonstrations. The facts are before the country; their number grows daily. They are past concealment or denial. What is to be done?

In the first place, the facts must be looked at as they are, in the light of our common moral sense, of elemental justice, of our American institutions and historical professions. Party considerations must not be allowed to enter into the count. It is reported from Washington that men are with cynical glee deliberately playing the game of politics with this gravest of moral issues which have recently confronted the nation. For the honor of the land and of the men themselves, it is to be hoped that this report is not true. For a party man to permit or attempt to cover up the real nature of an issue of this character, in order to put another party man into a party hole for party purposes, is to sink to about the lowest depths of public unworthiness.

In the second place, President Roosevelt, who feels the gravity of the situation and is anxious to remove the ugly blot from the nation's honor, as far as possible, ought to have the active and unequivocal support, in this direction, of all citizens of all parties and creeds in searching out and exposing all the wrongs and barbarities which have been committed by American men under the American flag. Let him know that the men who have been guilty of these atrocities, of these crimes against humanity and justice, are visited by the common body of the American people with just and impartial condemnation, whether the offender be the humblest soldier in the field or the Secretary of War in the capital, or any man between these. Thus to judge and thus to support the President in this hour of national humiliation and shame, is not to make an attack on the

army nor to prove disloyal to one's settled political principles. To do otherwise is to make an attack of the most serious import upon the nation's life and fair name, upon common justice and right, upon civilization and humanity.

In the third place, we must lay the responsibility of this tragedy of horrors where, in the last analysis, it belongs—upon ourselves, the people. We must not run to cover, as some of our public representatives have done, and seek to evade our share of guilt and dishonor. We, the people of this country, are the rulers of this country. The officials are our agents and servants. We are responsible for the nation's policies and enterprises. We have been silent when we ought to have spoken. We have been incredulous when we ought to have believed. We have surrendered ourselves to the cheap and vulgar notion that we were being swept on by a destiny over which we had no control. We have allowed a false notion of patriotism to smother criticism, and to persuade us that the nation can do no wrong; we have allowed the deliberate and open employment of the mercenary and cruel Macabebes as the pilots of our enterprise of conquest. We have spoken of the Philippine inhabitants in a manner to create contempt for them and to induce a treatment of them scarcely fit for wild beasts. It is we who are guilty, as well as the men who have done the burning and the torture. It is not possible that this course of wrong and barbarism should have gone on so long and the people be innocent. And we shall be doubly guilty if we allow ourselves any longer to be hoodwinked as to the real infamy of the things which have been done, and do not insist that they be stopped at once; and the direct perpetrators brought to account. That the Filipinos have done barbarous things will not excuse us. The plea of necessity is always the plea of a weakling or a tyrant.

But, fourthly, we must go a step further, if we are to wipe out the stain and redeem the past. The punishment of the wrong doers will be small atonement, if we do nothing more. This will not undo the wrongs. It will not bring back to life the slain. It will not restore the burned villages, nor re-people the "howling wilderness." It will not quench the undying hatred which we have planted deep in every true Filipino's soul. There is only one course, worthy of the nation. Our presence in the Philippines, as sovereign, has been justified on two grounds, the technical right of international law and the duty to force a people to accept civilization. That the latter reason

gives not the shadow of a right does not need to be argued before a Christian audience. No real American believes, or ever can believe, that it does. International law, which is confessedly still confused and imperfect, cannot give any right, when its declarations are contrary to the plainest and simplest dictates of righteousness and justice. Our country has often cast to the winds the old formulas of international law and made it read more in harmony with fundamental right and Christian principle. In not doing so, in this case, it has turned back a good way toward the dark ages of tyranny and oppression.

Out of the fundamental wrong which we have done has come the national blindness and hardness of heart which has led, naturally, on to the things which now so appall us. There is but one atonement worthy of a great and good people that has gone astray, and that is, to double back on our track. We should demand the immediate inauguration of the policy suggested in President Roosevelt's message, "self-government for the Filipinos after the fashion of the really free nations." How dark and inexplicable seems our policy hitherto toward the Filipinos when set in contrast with that toward the island south of us, which has just passed into independent statehood! Two days ago the flag that we all love and honor as the symbol of liberty, equality and fraternity fluttered down from the top of Moro Castle and from every public building in Havana. The American flag was never raised higher than on that day.

The nation ought at once, under the lead of our generous and liberty-loving President, to prepare for another scene like that—in the Philippines.

REMARKS OF REV. FRANCIS H. ROWLEY,

Of First Baptist Church.

From the time of God's ancient prophets down to the present hour there have been no truer patriots than many of those whose voices have rung clear and strong in condemnation of their country's course in hours of national transgression. "We have had Europe in our mind fifty times," said Lowell, in 1848, "where we have had God and conscience once." He charged the nation then with the thirst for power, and wrote: "When every other argument in favor of our infamous Mexican war has been exhausted, there was still left this, that it would make us more respected abroad." I doubt not this public gathering will be declared by many a virtual aiding and abetting of the

mèn who are opposing our government in the Philippines. Must a man keep silence in the face of wrong, because his country has perpetrated it, lest someone accuse him of disloyalty?

We are here tonight, not as Democrats or Republicans. We are here as men who, no matter what may be their devotion to a political party, would rather see it go down in utter defeat than that the fair flag that gathers into its symbols all we hold most sacred as a people should suffer a single stain. It is not a political issue that concerns us, as men commonly use that word, but a moral one. It towers above the question of parties as Sinai towered above the wandering tribes that stood awestricken at its base.

A war begun in the interests of humanity has passed into a war of conquest. Our army is engaged in reducing to subjection a people who sought no quarrel with us,—a people fighting not to infringe upon any moral right it was ours to claim, who have never threatened to invade our territory, to destroy our liberties, or to overthrow our institutions,—a people fighting to defend what they hold to be their inalienable rights, and to resist a foreign foe. As we burn their villages and shoot down their struggling inhabitants, or shock the civilized world with our inhumanities, we assure them that we are seeking their larger good, and tell them that it is in the name of a nobler civilization than they have known.

“Not but wut abstract war is horrid,

We sign to thet with all our heart,

But civilization doos git forrid,

Sometimes, upon a powder cart.”

I am inclined to think that the atrocities that have accompanied this bitter conflict of our army with a people said to be absolutely and hopelessly alien, in race, temperament and civilization, were inevitable. A leading journal of this state, referring recently to Warren Hastings' rule in India, quotes from one of Lord Erskine's speeches in defence of it, as follows: “He may, and must, have offended against the laws of God and of nature. If he was the faithful viceroy of an empire wrested in blood from a people to whom God and nature had given it, he may and must have preserved that dominion over timorous and abject nations by a terrifying superiority. If he was the faithful administrator of a government having no root in consent or affection, no foundation in similarity of interests, . . . then that government could only be unheld by stratagem and force. To be governed at all, they must be governed by

a rod of iron." By these methods only does it seem possible to have won and held such a race. It looks as if we, too, had to face the fact that to subdue thousands of these Filipinos we must resort to means that are no longer tolerated for a moment in the wars that civilized nations wage against each other. The chances are that the American soldier has been as humane as any other soldier would have been if he were to carry out the orders given him. If I am commanded by a power I dare not disobey to conquer an enemy, who can predict the means that I may be led to employ when once the inhuman passions born of war are kindled toward a foe who fights with weapons against which those I have been taught to wield will not avail. The moral responsibility for the facts that have passed into history as characterizing our treatment of the Filipinos comes back upon the government whose will the army must obey. Through this whole sorry business of our assertion of authority and of our conduct as a nation in the Philippine Islands I believe there may be detected the spirit of a fancied race superiority that it is imagined gives us a right to ride rough-shod over men and women as truly the children of one Eternal Father as we ourselves. We boast of ours as the age of humanity. We have shouted our response to the fine sentiment of the great-hearted poet, "A man's a man for a' that," but the evidence is not lacking that had we risen as a people to the sublime conception of man's brotherhood with man, irrespective of his race or color or previous condition, we had never borne ourselves as we have toward those who have been made with us in the image of Almighty God.

It seems impossible that there should be need that this meeting utter its protest against the cruelties admitted to have been inflicted by our army upon the Filipinos. From all over the land, from many a pulpit, from a thousand presses, from millions of human lips, are not the American people proclaiming their indignant condemnation of such barbarous deeds? How can they do otherwise if western civilization is in any sense Christian and not Pagan? Are we not as a people, President and Cabinet with us, united in our opposition to everything that savors of savagery,—the spirit of retaliation and revenge? War, make it as humane as you can, has horrors enough, desolating, appalling, without adding to them the brutalities of torture and the refinements of cruelty. Can it be that the government needs to know that from Maine to California men and women are aroused and moved to gather in great assemblies that their voices

may be heard against such acts of inhumanity as have disgraced us in the eyes of the world,—can this be needed to prevent the leaders of parties from ignoring the significance of the whole business and turning it into a party debate? I will not believe that we have fallen so low.

I would that from this gathering here tonight there might go out a great solemn appeal in behalf of peace. That we might affirm that it was our unalterable conviction that the nation, through its constituted authorities, should say to the Filipinos, say it frankly, say it without reservation, say it as we said it to Cuba, "We promise you independence. Lay down your arms and we guarantee you at the first possible moment the fair chance to work out your own destiny; and to that end we assure you of our assistance and support." Such a declaration issuing from Washington would bring us back to the only foundation on which we can ultimately take our stand if we are to prove true to the soundest principles embodied in our constitution. It is honor, not dishonor, to withdraw the flag from every foot of ground where it cannot float save in violation of the rights of man. Never has it looked more worthy of our devotion—that sacred emblem of freedom,—our country's flag, than when, the guns of Cabanas fortress saluting with their blazing lips, it dropped in graceful folds down from the flagstaff of the palace in the capital of Cuba. That was a sight to thrill the heart of humanity. That scene made possible again through the nation's faith in Him of whom we are told justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne, and through loyalty to His righteous will—that scene made possible in the islands of the eastern sea, and there—

"O Beautiful! My country!

* * * * *

What were our lives without thee?

What all our lives to save thee?

We reek not what we gave thee;

We will not dare to doubt thee,

But ask whatever else, and we will dare."

REMARKS OF REV. FRANK O. HALL,

Of North Avenue Universalist Church, Cambridge.

There was a time when one might reasonably doubt the stories of torture and indiscriminate slaughter on the part of the American forces in the Philippine Islands. That time is

past. When there was room for doubt such a meeting as this might have seemed like an impertinence. Men would have said, "Let us wait until we are sure of our facts." Well, we are sure of our facts. There is no longer room for doubt.

There is no reason to doubt that we are doing in the Philippine Islands today, essentially the same things that Butcher Weyler was doing in Cuba six years ago, only we are doing it on a larger scale and have improved considerably upon his method. There is no doubt that we have caused the destruction of more lives in the last three years than the Spanish did in any century of their misrule. Just now we are horrified at the disaster caused by the volcano at Martinique. When we think of the ruined homes, the desecrated dead, the hungry women and children, our hands leap instinctively to help those in distress. But there is no doubt that we have in the last three years caused the destruction of more homes, more property, and vastly more lives, that we have made more widows and orphans many times over than this desolating volcano. There is no doubt that under the American flag has been carried on a campaign of torture.

Not all the stories of torture and massacre which come to us are true. Some are lies, thank God! But enough has been testified to by eye-witnesses under oath, enough has been confessed by those who took part in the horrors of which they tell, enough has been confessed by the officers under whose authority deeds of horror were executed, so that there is no longer any doubt that under the American flag deeds have been performed, are still being performed, to make every lover of the stars and stripes cry out with mighty indignation against the disgrace of our national emblem.

This testimony has unmistakably brought out the fact that it is the common custom of our soldiers, for the sake of finding concealed arms and ammunition, when they enter a Filipino village, to seize the first natives they find and torture them till they tell what they know. The ordinary form of torture is known as the "water-cure." The native is thrown upon his back, his mouth pried open with a bayonet or a stick while water is poured into his throat, filling the stomach, lungs and intestines until he swells to bursting. Then he is trampled on and the water forced furiously from the mouth and ears and nose and eyes. All this causes the most excruciating agony. Sometimes kerosene is used instead of water. This treatment is common, has been used in unnumbered instances, not merely in isolated instances. It has been used not only on soldiers in the Philippine army, but upon

citizens who never raised an arm, upon old men and little boys. One soldier testifies that he saw a little lad less than ten years of age treated in this way. Think of this, you mothers and fathers! Imagine your little lad so treated. Put yourself for a moment in the place of this tortured people and decide what you are going to do about it. And worse than all this is true. I may not in this presence so much as hint at the treatment which the Philippine women have received at the hands of these men who are so intent upon civilizing them.

Nor is torture confined to the water-cure or the kerosene-cure. Another method of torture is to wind a piece of rope about the neck of the victim, cross it under his arms, wind it around the waist and tie it in the back. Then a stick or a gun barrel is thrust through the rope between the shoulders and twisted round and round until the rope bends the spine backward, threatens to dislocate the head from the body and disembowel the victim. The torture is indescribable in its agony. The Spanish Inquisition never devised anything more hideous. Confession is easily extorted by this means. A man will betray his brother and give his son over to death to escape the agony. Such are the methods by which we are carrying on the work of benevolent assimilation.

Where did our soldiers learn such methods of warfare? They are not taught at West Point. To be sure, the investigation of hazing at West Point, still fresh in our memory, brought out the fact that our officers are trained as boys to torture each other with tabasco sauce, that liquid fire, and that it is there considered quite honorable and gentlemanly to select a well-trained bully of an advanced class to pummel and maul with his fists some untrained freshman, until he is knocked into insensibility. But even in that, institution officers are not taught the water-cure. Where, then, did they learn it? From the Macabebes. Who are the Macabebes? A savage tribe who hate the civilized Tagalogs as the Indians hated the Anglo-Saxon. These savages have been employed in the service of the United States, just as the Indians were incited to fight against the colonists in the French and colonial wars. It is the custom of these savages to use this form of torture. We have learned it and have improved upon it in satanic fashion. I have never heard that the French adopted the Indian methods of torture by burning at the stake or making a captive run the gauntlet. They left that to their Indian allies. But we have not left torture to our savage allies. We have engaged in that business ourselves. There is no doubt

about it. It is proven by unimpeachable testimony, admitted, indeed, by the officers in our army.

Moreover, it has been brought out that we have been engaged not only in a campaign of torture, but a war of extermination. Maj. Waller, in the court martial, admitted that he was sent into Samar for the purpose of making it a howling wilderness, and succeeded pretty effectually, claiming as a defence that he had orders from his general to kill everything—"everything,"—men, women as well as men, civilians as well as soldiers,—over ten years of age. The orders were to make this district uninhabitable. He was acquitted by the court martial because he was simply obeying orders. Then his general, nicknamed by his soldiers, "Hell-roaring Jake," was placed on trial and admitted having given the orders. So there is no doubt as to what has been done. He, also, was acquitted on the ground that he, too, was acting under instructions from his superior at Washington. The investigation still goes on. It must not stop until the responsibility is placed somewhere.

What must be the effect of all this not only upon the Filipinos but upon ourselves? There are sixty or seventy thousand young men out yonder at the present time being educated in these methods of torture and extermination, taught by savages, schooled in cruelty and abominations. These men are shortly coming back to America with bodies degenerate by unnameable disease and souls degenerate because of the experiences they have been through, accustomed to torture and extermination. These men are to be the fathers of hundreds of thousands of American children. Do you know anything of the law of heredity? Do you know that the next generations of Americans are to be cursed in body and in soul by what is being done in the Philippine Islands today? You may have no son there. You may have no son to send. But you may have a daughter who shall marry one of these men corrupt in body and soul. Or you may have a grandchild who shall marry the grandchild of one of these men. Thus shall the curse come home to you. Sooner or later, as there is a just God in Heaven, it will come home to every man and woman who is here this night. Sooner or later the very life of the American Republic will be corrupted on account of the sins for which you and I are responsible, if we lift no voice in protest. We shall reap what we sow. God is not mocked.

Now I have great confidence in President Roosevelt. I believe him to be a man of unimpeachable honor and fidelity.

He has courage. He has high ideals. He is no man's man. He has done America splendid service in the short time he has been at the head of our government. He is not responsible for all this abomination. If he can have the support and encouragement of the American people, whose servant he is, I am convinced that he will cause this horror to end and will bring the guilty to justice. But he must have the support and the encouragement of the American people. Let us remember that he is so surrounded in Washington by two classes of people that the great heart of the nation is far from him. Around him, in the first place, is a circle of politicians ever whispering to him that he must do nothing, say nothing, that will hinder success in the next election. Your politician thinks of nothing beyond the next election. The politicians are around the President ten deep. And with them is a multitude of army officers who are looking for bigger epaulets and wider shoulder-straps, men who are scheming and plotting for promotion. To them the continuance of the war means promotion, its abandonment means loss of opportunity. Many of these men justify the Philippine horrors. They even approve torture and extermination. But these men do not represent the American people. The President ought to hear from the American citizens. We do not belong to the politicians. The politicians belong to us. We do not serve the army. It is the business of the army to serve us. Let us indicate to our President the will of the sovereign American people.

REMARKS OF REV. ROBERT J. JOHNSON,

Of Gate of Heaven Church.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As I understand it, the purpose of this meeting is to enter a protest against certain acts admitted to have been done in the name of the American people, and by their agents, in the Philippine Islands. I do not believe that any of us have the least desire to talk politics—I certainly have not. It is the clergyman's province to view public occurrences in their moral aspects, without regard to their bearings upon the fortunes of political parties. But we do not cease to be citizens when we become ministers of the Gospel. Whenever and wherever deeds are done that are unworthy of our country and its glorious traditions of liberty and humanity, it is not only our right—it is our duty to denounce the wrong. To keep silence, indeed, when

such acts are being committed, excused and even defended,—acts which are dishonoring to our national character, would be to the last degree discreditable to the Christian ministry.

We leave party politics to the politicians; it is no concern of ours. With expansion or anti-expansion, colonies or no colonies, as matters of political expediency, we do not undertake to deal. With the question of commerce, and whether it is extended most advantageously by conquest and annexation; with questions of organic law, as whether the constitution follows the flag, or whether tariffs can be levied against imports from islands that are under our own flag—all these things we leave cheerfully to the statesman, the jurist and the merchant.

But when there comes word across the seas that in a land eleven thousand miles away men, women and children are being tortured and slaughtered, that their homes are being laid in ashes, and their lands made desolate, under orders given by officers of the United States, then it is indeed time for all of us who are jealous of the honor of our country to make stern remonstrance, and to do our part to awaken the moral sense of the American people, which, though it sometimes sleeps, is never dead.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to take up your time nor harrow your feelings by a recital of the horrible things that have been done in our name in the Philippines. I have no taste for such recitals, nor do I believe that any good end is to be served by parading the details of massacre, arson and worse things known and proved to have been done in those islands. All that I will say on that point is to call your attention not to what is alleged or even proved by those who accuse us of fiendish barbarities to the Filipinos; but to what the officers and soldiers of our army themselves admit that they have done. Upon the trial of Major Waller of the Marine Corps, testimony was given by the Major himself and corroborated by other witnesses that Gen. Smith had instructed him to kill and to burn; said that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he, Gen. Smith, would be. Furthermore, Major Waller testified that Smith had instructed him to take no prisoners; and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. When Maj. Waller asked Gen. Smith to fix the age limit for killing, Gen. Smith replied, "Kill everything over ten." "Had a Spanish general," says *The Nation*, "on the eve of the Spanish war even hinted at practices so atrocious as those now coolly admitted by an American general—why, we should have rent the skies with our indignation."

Those frightful violations of the laws of war took place in the Province of Samar. Now Samar is an island of the Visayan group. Its people are not savages, nor semi-savages. They are civilized people, Christian people, who have their homes and their schools and their churches, and who in common with ourselves are accustomed to pray, "Our Father who art in Heaven." It is among these people, worshipping the same God before whom we bow in Boston, that American soldiers, under the stars and stripes, the emblem of free government and human rights, have killed and burned without mercy, sparing none above the age of ten.

Are we Christians, Mr. Chairman, and shall we hold our peace in the presence of such a wrong? Shall we stop to consider what effect our protest may have on one political party or another? Are we to wait while these atrocities are being done in our name, and nicely calculate how the next elections will go if we denounce them? I think not,—I am sure not. The Ten Commandments are supreme over all platforms. One of these great commandments is this—"Thou shalt not kill." I am aware that there is a distinction drawn between war and murder, but if the distinction is to hold good you must at least conduct your warfare within those limitations of mercy and humanity which all civilized nations now recognize. You shall not slaughter on non-combatants. You shall not burn homes; you shall not violate women; you shall not slay children; you shall not burn and destroy and make a desolation and call that civilized warfare. If you do these things the fine line between war and murder disappears and Mount Sinai thunders at you; "Thou shalt not kill." You know what Lowell says in one of his Bigelow Papers:

"Wut's the use o' meetin' goin,
Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
Ef it's right to go a'mowin,
Feller-men like oats an' rye?"

Now as I have said, ladies and gentlemen, there is no dispute that these things were done in the Island of Samar. Let me quote from the record on this point. On April 25th there came a cable despatch from Manila, from which I will read an extract:

"The trial by court martial of General Jacob H. Smith began today. General Lloyd Wheaton presided. Col. Charles A. Woodruff, counsel for the defence, said he desired to simplify the proceedings. He was willing to admit that General

Smith gave instructions to Major Waller to kill and burn and make Samar a howling wilderness; that he wanted everybody killed capable of bearing arms, and that he did specify all boys over ten years of age."

There you have it squarely admitted that General Smith directed the general desolation of that province, the burning of its homes, and the killing, without quarter, of all its male population from ten years of age upwards. These are facts beyond controversy. Attempts may be made, and are being made, to excuse and even to defend them—but at least they cannot be denied.

Now listen to what President Schurman of Cornell University, who was President of the first Philippine Commission sent out by President McKinley, says of the people of Samar and Batangas:

"These people, remember, are not savages, or 'injuns' or barbarians. They are civilized Christians. . . . It is here that some of our military authorities have practised Weyler's system of reconcentration, resorted to Oriental methods of torture, turned happy homes into a howling wilderness, and not only killed non-combatants, but murdered boys over ten years of age."

Now I ask you to mark President Schurman's comment upon these admitted facts, because its spirit is entirely just. I believe this meeting will echo and endorse it. President Schurman says:

"I state the alleged facts without either exaggeration or palliation! Would to Heaven they were only a tissue of devilish invention! But too much has already been admitted to leave any hope of appreciable abatement of the horror and the anguish which have wrung the hearts of the American people. I remember (alas, the pity of it!) at the beginning of hostilities in the Philippines, seeing cities where thousands of people dwelt together in peace and prosperity utterly destroyed. Some Americans, at least, have been guilty of conduct which evokes the horror and detestation of mankind. But if our cheeks burn with patriotic shame and our hearts quiver with moral indignation, let the bolt strike not only the unhappy individuals but the system and policy of which they have been the victims."

I agree with President Schurman that it is time to ask this question—

"What, I ask, do you want in the Philippines? More particularly, why in any part of Luzon and the Visayan Islands are

you making a howling wilderness and killing children over ten years of age? Why, then, are we making war? Here are 6,500,000 fellow Christians of ours—the only Christian nation in Asia—as highly civilized as most of the people of Central and South America.

“Are the American people, then, the freest people on this earth, the very flower and chivalry of liberty, shooting down Filipinos because Filipinos will not do what Americans want, while all the time Filipinos are endeavoring to ascertain, but cannot, what it is Americans do want? If we have no policy, let us say so and stop fighting. If we have a policy, let us say so and it may end all fighting. But to keep an army of 40,000 or 50,000 American citizens in Asia to fight for no policy is at once foolish and wicked.

“Governor Taft is reported as saying at New Haven that, if we conferred independence upon them, power would fall into the hands of the educated classes; but it is an intelligent oligarchy of Filipinos worse than an intelligent oligarchy of Americans?”

I am deeply impressed with the fact on which President Schurman also lays stress, that we have never yet told the people of the Philippines what we want of them. We have made war upon them for four years; we have killed thousands of them, burned their villages, put them to torture by hundreds to force them to betray their brothers and husbands fighting in the field; more than 4,000 of our own soldiers have been killed outright, 10,000 more of them have been wounded, and other thousands have been sent home invalided, diseased and not a few of them stark, raving maniacs. We have already spent at least \$300,000,000,—some experts say \$400,000,000,—and we have just voted one hundred millions more to carry on the war, and yet we have never offered these people any terms of peace, or proclaimed to them on what conditions we would let them have peace; nor have we ever permitted them, though they made the effort, to lay before us any terms on which this war might be ended. We have even refused a hearing to their accredited representatives.

It is to my thinking one of the worst and most indefensible of our blunders in dealing with these people that we have not allowed them to approach us, nor have ourselves approached them, for the purpose of conciliation, negotiation and peace. If we will neither hear them offer terms, nor declare to them any terms—and that is the precise position we have taken up and

are occupying at this moment—how shall the war ever end or peace ever come? Do we seriously intend the extermination of these people? When the treaty of peace was being framed at Paris, Mabini, Aguinaldo and other leaders of the Filipinos asked to be heard by the commissioners in that city. They were refused. On several occasions since they have asked the privilege of appearing at Washington and laying their case before our President and Congress. All such requests have been refused. We are still in that attitude of absolute refusal to receive them or hear them in their own behalf. Aguinaldo and other leaders are now our prisoners, and we take the ground that as such they have no right to talk to us; and as to those leaders who are still uncaptured we should refuse to hear them, as we did Aguinaldo's delegates before he was our captive, on the ground that we cannot negotiate with men who are in arms against us. So, then, it comes to this: If they are fighting us they cannot be heard because they are in arms; if they are captured they cannot be heard because they are in prison; in short, they cannot be heard under any circumstances.

On what reasonable grounds shall we justify to our sense of right this persistent refusal to listen to what these unfortunate people may have to say? Are not they even human beings, that we should say to them, "You shall not so much as speak one word to us in your own behalf. We will not hear you"? Why, fellow citizens, we did not even treat the Indians, whom the earlier Americans called "red devils," as badly as that! We received their chiefs, heard what they had to say, treated with them, and made peace with them by negotiation. It is only against these Filipinos, who are neither savages nor half-savages, but a Christian people, whose only crime is that they have read our Declaration of Independence, believed it to be true, and tried to live up to it, that we have taken this high and haughty position. We declare that they have no right to be heard, and that we will not hear them. And why? Is there any other reason except that we are strong and they are weak? And will any one tell me that it is a really creditable or just attitude for this great nation of seventy-six million freemen to take toward a people of less than seven millions, struggling earnestly for liberty? I cannot think so. Surely it is a case where we may remember that "it is excellent to have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

An outcry is raised, however, when we protest against such things as have been done in Samar, that we are attacking the

American army. We must be silent, Mr. Chairman, and let our country be shamed, or we shall be called unpatriotic. I yield to no man in my honor of the American army. I believe its record from 1776 down to this time is equal to that of any other army in the world. And it has been to my mind the proudest boast of America that wherever her soldiers went they went "shouting the battle-cry of freedom."

We have been content to leave to other nations the questionable glory of forcing their government and their laws upon alien peoples at the point of the bayonet. But now it seems there is a new sort of American patriotism, which forgets the Declaration of Independence and its "inalienable rights" of men to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and its doctrine of "just government" requiring "the consent of the governed." This new patriotism summons us to carry our flag by force of arms into far-distant islands and to build an empire founded on military force and commercial greed. But is not this asking us to turn our backs on all that America has stood for in the past? Is it not to join in the very oppression and robbery of weaker nations which heretofore we have always denounced when it was practised by European powers?

Ladies and gentlemen, it is because we honor the American army and are proud of its record—always for liberty and against oppression, always for humanity and against barbarism—that we are here tonight to protest from our hearts against the tarnishing of its splendid record by such foul deeds as have been done in the Province of Samar. We are not censuring the soldier. We understand that our officers and men are out in those islands because they were ordered to go there. A recent writer well says: "The real enemies of the American army are those who lay upon it a revolting task. . . . The real authors of the dishonor of the army are the men who send it on dishonoring campaigns."

It was admirably said by Senator Hoar in his latest speech on this subject in the Senate that the American army was not to blame for the barbarities perpetrated in the Philippines. He pointed out that it was inevitable that the cruelties done on both sides, alike by the Filipinos and our own troops, should be done under the circumstances. He spoke of the carloads of demented soldiers passing through Omaha on their way from the Philippine Islands, their bodies shattered and their minds wrecked as the result of their service in those islands, and he said most truly that this and all the other horrors of the war are "the inevitable

result which every reasonable man must have anticipated of the decisions made in this chamber when we elected to make war for the principle of despotism instead of a policy of peace." To make it plain that the responsibility for these awful deeds is not upon our soldiers, nor even upon the officers of our army, but upon the Senate itself for having committed the country to a policy which could bear no other fruit, Senator Hoar said to his fellow-Senators:

"When you determined by one vote to ratify the Spanish treaty; when you determined by one vote to defeat the Bacon resolution; when you declared in the McEnery resolution, that we would dispose of that people as might be for the interest of the United States; when the Senator from Wisconsin said we would not talk to a people who had arms in their hands, although they begged that there should be no war, and that we would at least hear them you did not know that this was to come. But you might have known it. A little reflection and a little reason would have told you. . . . I cannot understand how any man, certainly how any intelligent student of history, could have failed to foretell exactly what has happened when we agreed to the Spanish treaty. Everything that has happened since has been the natural, inevitable, inexorable result of the policy you then declared."

We do not blame our soldiers, therefore; we only pity them for being ordered to do work which, being American boys, born and bred in this free land, they must in their souls loathe and abhor. But we are here to enter our solemn protest against the unrighteousness of any policy that requires an American army to do such utterly un-American things. We protest with all the earnestness that we possess against that barbarous method of warfare which is reported to have brought to death 100,000 Filipinos in one province alone.

Let us not forget for what cause, and on what grounds we declared war against Spain in 1898. It was in the name of humanity that we called upon Spain to evacuate Cuba. It was because the cry of the concentration camps was no longer to be borne. It was because we could not suffer Weyler's summary executions to go on. It was because the cry of the slaughtered Cubans and the smoke of their burning villages became intolerable. We could not endure them for another day. That was the ground, the high and honorable ground, on which we drew the sword and declared that Spain should set Cuba free. Our army and navy were set in motion to liberate, not to subdue; to

extend the bounds of freedom and give birth to one more self-governing Republic. Shall we not end as we began? If we have strayed from the path on which we started as liberators, let us hasten to retrace our steps. Let us return to "the path of judgment." Let our flag stand in the Philippines for the same things for which it stands in Cuba—a people delivered, a land pacified, and one more star added to the galaxy of free, self-governing nations.

The Chairman at this stage said:

I now introduce something somewhat foreign to the speeches. This hall was not given to the clergy for nothing. The printers have demanded their money for a considerable amount of printing. The United States government was unwilling to send our letters and circulars without stamps, and we find in consequence that there is a considerable sum to pay. We do not ask the laity to foot this bill, the clergy will pay its share and I expect it will be the largest share of the whole, but we ask you to do your share. The collectors will now go round while we sing a hymn.

The Chairman then announced that Dr. Franklin Hamilton and Dr. Reuben Thomas, who it had been expected would address the meeting, were unable to be present.

REMARKS OF REV. SCOTT F. HERSHEY,

Of First Presbyterian Church.

Mr. Chairman: I am glad, sir, that you so tersely said that we should each assume our own responsibility. It seems to me that we are doing it very well. I am quite willing to assume the responsibility for anything which I may say, or any sentiment I may express. The other night in New York the President of the United States, in speaking to six hundred representatives of more than a million American churchmen, said, "the vital thing for a nation is the spiritual and not the temporal," and then he said to these representative American Christians that "we must look to the Church to make the standard of righteousness and morals for the whole land." Now I take it that this meeting is to express the standard of morals and righteousness for the people of the nation. We have something to say as to the conduct, under the American flag, in that island in the far Pacific. All of the nations of the earth were once of one blood, and they are now getting back to the recognition of their unity of blood.

The process may be painful, and the transition probably involves a great deal of hardship; but the nations which are Christian are leading the other nations in the work of civilization, and ought to be distinguished for their work for the human kind, and in teaching them morality and righteousness. The Hon. James Bryce said the human race has just begun to see that it is one. These people in the lands of the far Pacific are human, and they are our brothers, and because of these ties of the human race any injustice, any cruelty, any torture practised on them is a thrust at the welfare of the whole race. Fatherhood of God is admitted by the best nations of the world. Unless the press has been strangely and culpably wronged; unless private correspondence has been altogether misrepresenting, unless the official representatives like President Schurman are not to be credited, the treatment of these people has not only been outrageous, but simply brutal and savage. Shall, we, I ask, quietly submit, without protest, to such treatment being carried on toward an inferior people? I wish to say in explanation of my conviction, that this treatment, making all allowance for exaggeration and extravagances, is simply unchristian; and we stand for Christian dealing with our fellow-men and especially when we are dealing with a weak and inferior people. Very true it is, that Christianity has some place in this world, and we insist these people shall be treated kindly in the spirit of humanity, of Christianity. Our treatment has been un-American. We have been regarded, and especially in these later years, as being just, and the American soldier will stand comparison for the characteristics of generosity and humanity with the best soldiers of the foremost nations of the world. We did well in Cuba, and raised the standard of humanity so high that it now seems a curse that the Philippines should make for us a background so black and dark. The captain of a naval vessel when in action and seeing the vessel of his enemy sinking, said to his men, "Don't fire, don't you see they are dying?" That was nobly said. When the news of that terrific disaster from the South Atlantic came to us we did what was grand before all the world. Why can't we do the same with the Philippines in the same spirit we showed in the South Atlantic? America is the leader of nations, a leader among nations, and she should set the example widely before all the world in three things, justice, liberty and humanity. These three things make for righteousness in all national life. Is there not sentiment enough, is there not profound conviction enough, and patriotism enough, of a Christian order to say that we will deal

justly and humanely with these people and lead them on to liberty, aye, and to independence? I do not believe that the American people will ever be reconciled or satisfied unless independence is given to the Philippine people.

REMARKS OF REV. A. A. BERLE,
Of Congregational Church, Brighton.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must confess to you with perfect frankness this evening that I am more than willing, in accord with the chairman's suggestion, to assume full responsibility for every word which I utter. I have for years been endeavoring to speak only the truth as I understand it from the teaching of the New Testament, and I am not in the mood this evening, which will make it easy for me to indulge in qualification nor make justification of the things which we are here to condemn a simple task. I have not the slightest desire to make it easy for those who have so grossly violated not only the fundamental principles of religion but the elementary precepts of humanity. I have absolutely no disposition to choose the easiest terms to describe those who have sanctioned what I believe to be murder and slaughter, nor terms which will make them sleep more soundly, satisfied with their work in the Philippine Islands.

President Roosevelt, the other day, at the Presbyterian General Assembly at New York, took occasion to commend the missionary spirit as displayed by the missionaries of the Christian church in foreign lands, with its self-sacrifice, its patient toil and waiting for result, as the highest type of civic and Christian endeavor. Indeed, he exalted it as the best illustration of the strenuous life of which he stands as the foremost representative. I wish to call his attention to the fact that when the International Congregational Council assembled three years ago in this very place the doctrines which he advocates and represents were presented here by the Rev. Lyman Abbott, who maintained that the Gospel in every age had been preceded by a reign of law, which he interpreted in our time to mean, that an army representing force must precede in foreign lands the herald of gospel peace.

The very next day missionaries from every land mounted this platform, these very types of the noblest Christian effort, these models of the strenuous life, and every single one of them said without reserve that that doctrine would ruin absolutely the

influence of every American missionary on foreign soil. The one thing they said which had given the American missionary abroad his unique influence and power, was that hitherto America had never stood for territorial aggrandizement or the subjugation of weaker peoples. They came from Asia, from Africa, from the islands of the sea, from every quarter of the globe, and to a man they repudiated the doctrine of force and subjugation which Abbott advocated and which Roosevelt executes. If the voice of the experienced missionaries of the Christian church abroad had been heard and listened to, this meeting tonight would not have been held.

It has been and is commonly alleged that it was the Church and the clergy that hurried the nation into the Spanish war, urging that the cry of suffering humanity demanded that the sword be drawn for the defence of the weak and the redress of grievous wrong. If that was true then, it is also true now that we demand that the sword drawn in the interest of humanity be sheathed again in the interest of humanity. That the sword which we hoped would express the righteous resolution of the American people to end a wicked and disastrous state of affairs in Cuba, shall not become the symbol of shame and brutality, visited upon helpless women and innocent children in the Philippine Islands.

I am here, also, tonight to resent the slanderous charge which the war department seeks to lay at the door of the veteran soldier of the Civil War. I am here to protest in the name of all true Americanism at the monstrous charge which the administration at Washington seeks to justify by bringing shame upon the name of Abraham Lincoln. I have wondered in reading this effort to make the atrocities in the Philippine Islands represent the spirit of Mr. Lincoln's war orders, whether it could be possible that our shame in this matter should be crowned, at the opening of the twentieth century, with an attempt to blacken the good name and fame of our martyred Lincoln, and I say that nothing but shame shall come to the man, be he president or private, who dares to dignify his own perfidy to American civilization and humanity, by blackening the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Moreover, the charge is utterly untrue. I hold in my hand a letter received today from an old officer, a veteran of the Northern Army, which speaks against this vile accusation. He was an officer in the Sixth Army Corps and served with Sheridan during the whole of the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. He says: "The attempt to put upon our honored Lin-

on the part of the individual soldier. They have come from where? From some superior officer; and as we trace them back they go higher and higher. Captains have received them from majors, and majors from colonels, and so on. These orders were given by men of courage and honor in other respects; and I wonder if our army is really to blame. I don't believe so. But we are to blame, because we sent our soldiers out there and commanded them to enforce our sovereign power. We sent them to subdue the people, and to make them submit to our rule and to keep down their rebellious spirits and to say to them, "You shan't be free." Yes, we sent them through our representative politicians to do all these things. We sent them indirectly, to do an un-American thing and the result is that they have done it in a cruel and un-American way. Yet I am inclined to think these results have been less with our soldiers than they would have been with any other soldiers on earth. We must look behind all this, we must look behind the individual and lay all the blame upon the policy.

It has been said that it is no part of ministers to advise statesmen what to do, but I have not ever recognized such a superabundance of wisdom among our statesmen that any man who is honest and has the fear of God should not be able to make suggestion.

There is only one thing to do. There is only thing for the people of the country to do. I believe there is only one thing for the President, the Senate, and Congress to do. That is to confess, as a nation, that we have been led into error and have been mistaken, and that we mean to redeem ourselves, and say, as we have never dared to say, that the people of the Philippines shall have the same rights and the same privileges that we enjoy and which we have given to the island of Cuba.

The meeting was brought to a close by the audience rising and singing "America."